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Washington, D.C. 20505

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**DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE**

19 November 1985

HAITI: RECENT EXILE ACTIVITY [REDACTED]

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Summary

Exile groups committed to the overthrow of President Jean-Claude Duvalier have little support in Haiti or among Haitian expatriates. Over the years, all of their attempts at invasion or assassination have been unsuccessful, although some groups have carried out terrorist actions in Haiti. We believe these groups will remain an irritating but manageable nuisance to the regime over the foreseeable future. Nevertheless, a number of groups continue to hatch plots against Duvalier, which the Haitian Government takes seriously and carefully monitors. [REDACTED]

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The Exile Community

Although we lack reliable statistics on the extent of emigration, large numbers of Haitians have left their country in recent decades and continue to do so. The US Embassy indicates that the vast majority are refugees--rather than political exiles--driven by dismal economic conditions to seek a better life elsewhere. Significant communities of ethnic Haitians reside in The Bahamas, the Dominican Republic, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Cuba, Guyana, Canada, and the United States. According to press reports, as many as 250,000 Haitians reside in New York City alone. Based on Embassy and local press reporting, most appear to be unemployed or occupy the lowest rungs of the job ladder and thus are barely able to support themselves, much less fund a movement against the Duvalier regime. [REDACTED]

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This memorandum was requested by Senator William Cohen. It was prepared by [REDACTED] Office of African and Latin American Analysis. Comments and queries are welcome and should be addressed to Chief, Middle America-Caribbean Division, [REDACTED]

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# Recent Activities

During the past 28 years of Duvalier family rule, exiles have formed numerous groups aimed at toppling the regime, although we believe such activists still constitute only a tiny minority among the exile community. Based on the track record to date, these groups appear to be characterized by limited resources, poor organization, and inability to work together. According to the Embassy, the groups span the political spectrum but generally are not driven by extremist ideology. Their only common goal is the regime's overthrow; few have specific or coherent plans for a post-Duvalier Haiti. Although some have proven capability for minor terrorist acts in Haiti--such as several bombings in Port-au-Prince in the early 1980s--a review of recent exile activities indicates a pattern of failure in carrying out their plots.

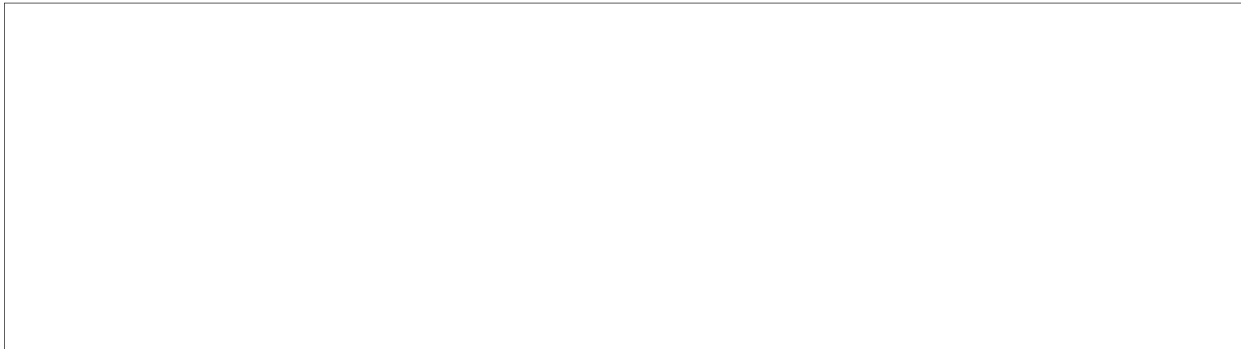
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-- Last November, the government arrested 19 persons in connection with an alleged plot to kill Duvalier, according to US officials.


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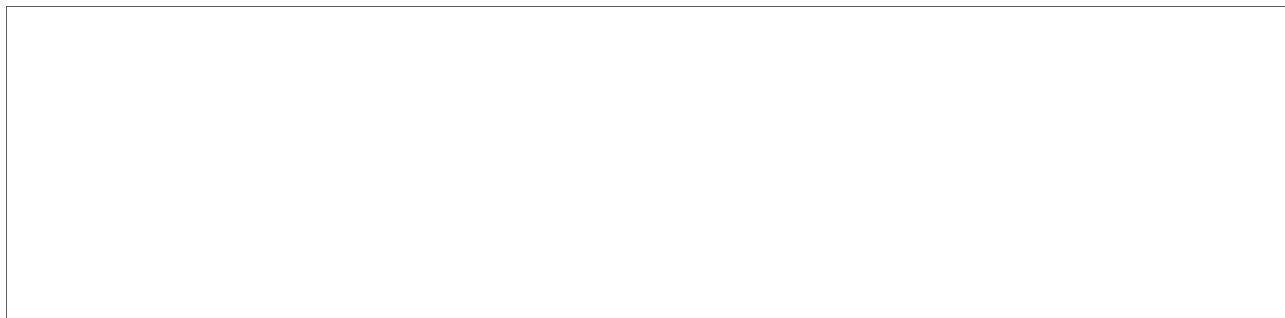


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### Little Foreign Support

According to the Embassy, Cuba has not shown much interest in Haiti since it provided support for a few ill-planned invasions of Haiti over 20 years ago. Although the Castro government continues broadcasting in Creole to Haiti and persists in its anti-Duvalier line, Havana currently does not publicly identify any revolutionary movement as representing a credible threat to the Haitian regime, according to US officials. Cuba probably recognizes the intractable political and economic problems that would have to be tackled should any revolutionary group succeed in ousting Duvalier, and thus sees little opportunity at present to advance its interests there. 

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In addition to contributions from members, the exile groups receive some funds from charitable and religious institutions, international labor organizations, and private interest groups, according to US officials. Individual sympathizers also are a source of funds. According to the US Embassy, former Haitian president Paul Magloire is one of the principal financial backers of the Hector Riobe Brigade. 

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### Government Countermeasures

According to the Embassy, the government's main defense against an exile incursion is a pervasive intelligence network controlled by various official security services. US officials report that these services have proved reasonably adept at infiltrating the exile groups in the Dominican Republic, Canada,

and the United States. In the United States and Canada, such intelligence gathering is aimed at the large Haitian expatriate communities in Miami, New York, and Montreal, according to the Embassy. Within Haiti, according to US officials, members of the Volunteers for National Security gather information from Haitian residents and Haitian businessmen who cross the border periodically from the Dominican Republic. According to Embassy reports, Haiti is relatively satisfied with the cooperation it receives from the Dominican Government, which denies exiles freedom to organize openly there. [REDACTED]

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### Outlook

We believe the chances for an exile overthrow of the Duvalier regime are slim over the foreseeable future. The groups' own shortcomings would seem to preclude their mounting a viable effort against the government. In addition, no exile incursion in the past 28 years has received more than token support within Haiti, according to the Embassy. Although popular discontent is growing, according to US officials, we doubt this translates into increased support for exile groups or enhances their chances for achieving their goals. At least a few groups, however, are likely to have the ability to carry out terrorist acts in Haiti, even though the prospect of assassinating the reclusive and well-protected Duvalier is slim. [REDACTED]

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In our judgment, Port-au-Prince can effectively counter this limited threat. According to the Embassy, if a group of armed exiles or exile-supported mercenaries succeeded in landing in Haiti, the Army, along with whatever forces the small and ill-equipped Air Force and Navy could muster, would respond. Paramilitary forces based in the area of the incursion probably would be called on to assist the regular military units, according to Embassy reporting. The Haitian Government probably is confident that its security forces can handle small-scale sea or air incursions similar to those that have occurred in recent years. Controlling its common border with the Dominican Republic is a more complex problem, however, and we believe it will require continued cooperation with Santo Domingo. [REDACTED]

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SUBJECT: Haiti: Recent Exile Activity

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TEXT TABLE: MAJOR HAITIAN EXILE GROUPS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Leader</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Comment</u>
Haitian National Popular Party (PPNH)	Bernard Sansaricq	Miami	The largest and potentially most threatening of the exile groups. Sansaricq has been scheming against the Duvaliers for over 20 years. In May 1984, 39 armed Haitians training for an invasion under Sansaricq's leadership were arrested by French authorities in St. Martin. Sansaricq eluded arrest and is now believed to be living in Costa Rica.
Hector Riobe Brigade	Yvon Desulme	Miami	The Brigade is leftist and reportedly has ties to Cuba and the PLO. Although said to favor terrorist attacks, it has not carried out any such actions in over two years.

National Democratic  
Group of Haiti (RDNP)

Leslie Manigat

Caracas

According to Manigat, the RDNP's  
philosophy is mainstream social  
democracy. Manigat is a known  
associate of two Hector Riobe  
Brigade leaders, [REDACTED]

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National Democratic  
Progressive Party of  
(PNDPH)

Formerly  
Lionel Laine  
New leader unknown

Miami

[REDACTED] Laine  
headed both groups, it is unclear  
whether they are separate or the  
same group with two names. The PNDPH  
is publicly the most radical of the  
major exile groups. [REDACTED]

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Popular Front for the  
Liberation of Haiti

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Haitian National  
Farm-Industrial  
Party (PAIN)

Louis Dejoie, Jr.

Puerto Rico

Even more than other exile groups, PAIN is an appendage which would not exist without its leader. Dejoie, the son of a prominent opponent of former (1957-1971) President Francois Duvalier, says democracy can be restored to Haiti only if exile leaders work with the regime. We believe Dejoie may hope that if no one emerges in Haiti to lead an opposition political party to give some credibility to the new political parties law, the government might turn to him to fill that role.

Unified Party  
of Haitian  
Communists (PUCH)

Rene Theodore

Dominican  
Republic



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General Secretary  
Theodore resides in Paris while many members of the central committee live in Mexico City. PUCH apparently has little influence among Haitians in the Dominican Republic.

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